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The Turkoman Defeat at Cairo by Solomon ben Joseph Ha-Kohen

EDITED WITH INTRODUCTION AND NOTES

By JULIUS H. GREENSTONE, Ph.D.

THESIS PRESENTED TO THE FACULTY OF PHILOSOPHY OF THE UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF PH.D.

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THE TURKOMAN DEFEAT AT CAIRO.

By Solomon ben Joseph Ha-Kohen.

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THE MANUSCRIPT.

The fragment presented in this monograph is from the Schechter-Taylor collection of the Cambridge University Library, No. 174; size 24.3 × 9.1 cm. The writing (text without margin) measures 23.5 × 8 cm. It is one of the Genizah fragments lately[1] unearthed by Professor Solomon Schechter in a ruined synagogue in Cairo, Egypt. It consists of one leaf, written on both sides of the paper, each page being divided into two columns. The writing is in an old, square hand, with a strong turn to the cursive (Rashi script). The whole appears to have been written by one man with the same ink, although some of the vowels, as well as a few minor additions, seem to have been added later in a paler ink. The fragment as a whole is well preserved; the writing is clear; the paper, while somewhat yellowish and broken in folding, escaped the destructive hand of time and presents a fine appearance, as will be seen from the accompanying photograph.

This fragment is not the original composition. It is a copy made either by the author himself or by someone else. This is indicated by the transposition of a few lines which the copyist placed in the wrong place and then, by explicit directions, indicated where the misplaced lines really belonged. L. 93, for example, is placed between ll. 99 and 100, and the copyist, by clear and unmistakable signs (כלק ומרצחים to succeed the line beginning with the word ומרצחים), indicates the reinsertion of the line in its proper place. The same is the case with l. 110, which is placed here between ll. 105 and 106, because there was a little room left; but the direction is given that it is to follow the line

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beginning with the word לכדה below (אכפל). L. 146 is placed at the end of the poem, because the copyist omitted it from its proper position. Ll. 120 and 121 are transposed, and are indicated as being so by the letters ב and א added at the beginning of the lines. The last line, which contains the number of lines in the poem, is probably an addition of the copyist.

On the margin, between ll. 145 and 147, there is inserted the word שלמה, in a paler ink, but apparently by the same hand. This is probably of no particular significance. The word שבט seems to have been tampered with, but all indications point to the fact that the erasure as well as the correction was done by the same hand.

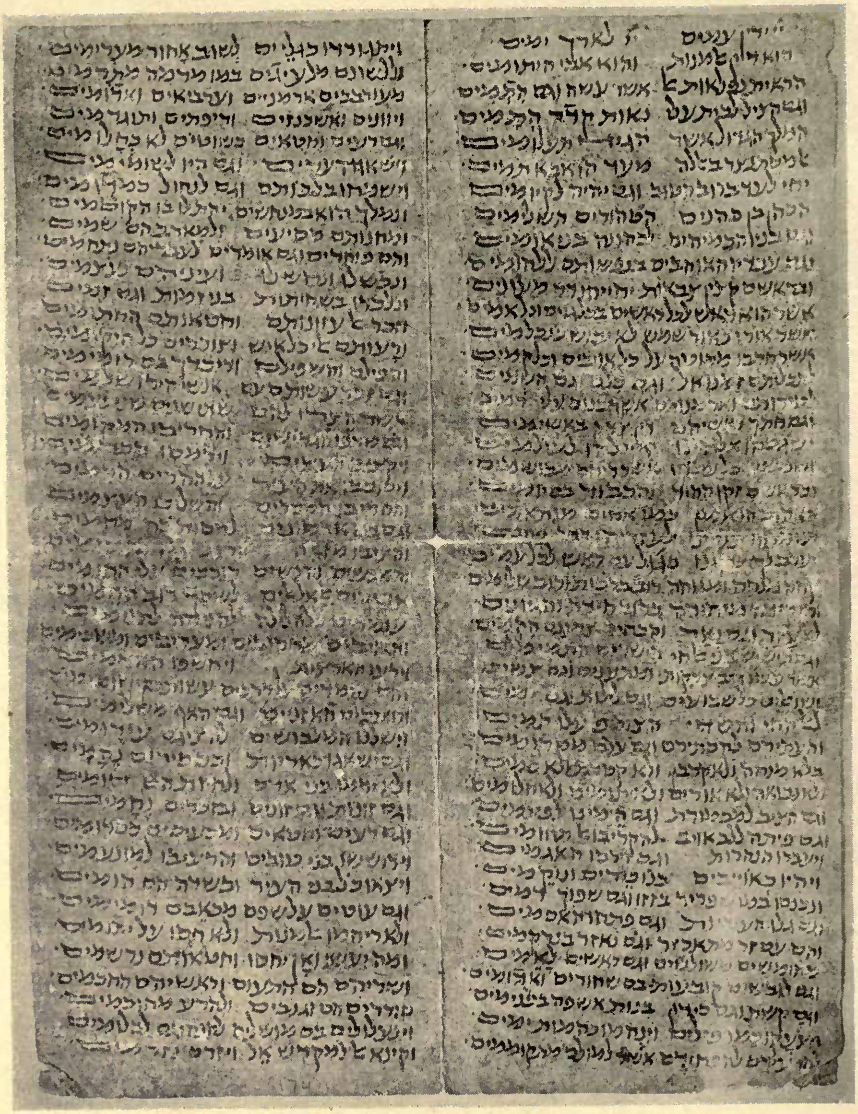
The manuscript is provided with vowel-points and other diacritical signs in a few places only, where the reading would otherwise not have been very clear. Thus, the שׂ and the שׁ are frequently indicated. The aspirate sounds of גֿ, דֿ, כֿ, תֿ, are indicated by a line over the letter.[2] The גֿ and the דֿ are most frequently so indicated, the כֿ only twice (ll. 128, 129), ךֿ once (l. 70), the תֿ twice (ll. 3, 111). There is no instance of the ב and פ being indicated as aspirates. This, however, may be entirely accidental and does not warrant the conclusion that these letters were not aspirated. All the vowel-signs, known to us at present, ◌ָ, ◌ַ, ◌ֵ, ◌ֶ, ◌ִ, וֹ, וּ, ◌ֻ, as well as the Sheva ◌ְ, occur in this fragment. Once the Pataḥ occurs in the form of a vertical line under the letter, after the Arabic long Fatḥa over the letter, but here (l. 4) the vowel happens to be short. Peculiar is the combination of the short ◌ֻ with the long וּ, the first to indicate that the vowel is short, and the second serving merely as a sign for the vowel *u*.

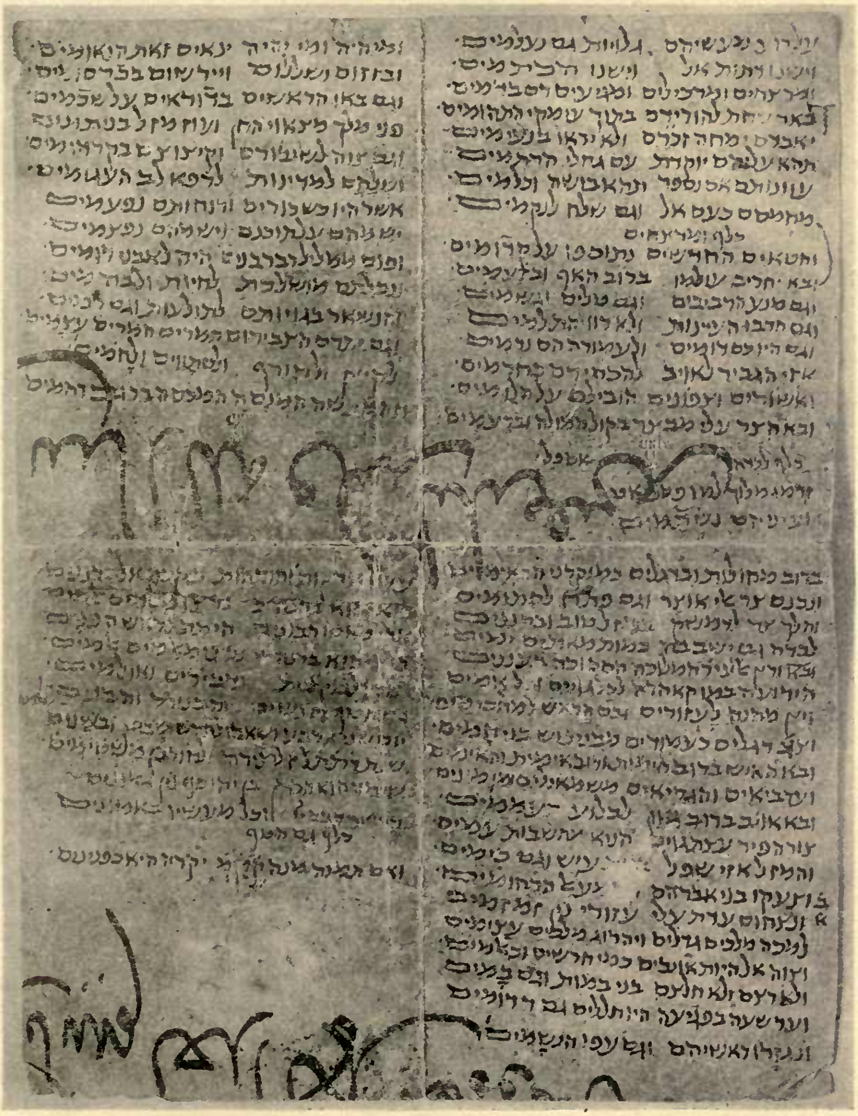
The Arabic inscription on the second page was probably written before the paper was used for the poem. The writer of the Hebrew poem made use of a sheet that he found, leaving vacant the space occupied by the Arabic. Otherwise there would have been no reason for his leaving the spaces in the middle of cols. 3 and 4. The Arabic inscription itself is unintelligible. It is evident that the sheet was cut off from a larger sheet, the Arabic words being a continuation of the larger sheet.

HISTORICAL SKETCH.[3]

Al-Mustanṣir b'Illahi Abu Tammîm Ma'add, the eighth Fatimide caliph of Egypt, was one of the weakest and most effeminate of the rulers who claimed descent from 'Ali and Fatima. His long reign over Egypt, Syria, and Palestine (427–87 A. H., 1035–94 C. E.), the longest reign ever enjoyed by an oriental ruler, was marked with "events and incidents most shameful."[4] The intrigues of his mother, a negro slave, presented to his father, al-Ḍâhir, by Abu Sa'd Sahl ibn Harûn, a Jewish merchant, brought great misfortune to the people of Egypt, and was the cause of a revolt of the Ṭurkish soldiers under Naṣir ad-Daula, which, for a time, threatened the complete overthrow of the Fatimide dynasty and the establishment of the Abasside rule in Egypt and Syria. The rise of the power of the Turkoman tribes under Tugrul Beg, Alp Arslan, and Malik Shah, who were faithful adherents of the orthodox Abasside caliph of Bagdad, favored such a change, and it was only through the wisdom and foresight of the vizier, Badr al-Jamâli, that this was partly obviated. The end of Mustanṣir's reign saw Damascus and the greater part of Palestine go over into the hands of the Turkomans, who later became the rulers of the whole of Asia Minor.

Tugrul Beg died soon after he succeeded in establishing peace in the provinces of the Abasside caliph, Al-Ḳaim, and in vanquishing the rebellious general Al-Bassasiri and his army (456, 1063). His nephew, Alp Arslan, succeeded him, and during his reign the rule of the Turkomans extended over a large area of Syria and Palestine. Alp Arslan soon made himself master of Aleppo, and one of his generals, Atsiz ibn 'Auk, wrested Palestine and Syria from the hands of the Fatimide caliph, Mustanṣir. He even succeeded in vanquishing the Greeks and released the emperor, Romanus Diogenes, only after a large sum was paid for his ransom (August, 1071). His rule, however, was soon cut short. When on an expedition in Turkestan, he was assassinated by one of the captured chiefs, in 1072. He was succeeded by his son, Malik Shah (1072–92), after a series of civil wars, headed by his uncle, Kawurd. Malik Shah adopted a liberal policy with regard to his princes, which he extended even to those whom he had vanquished, allowing them full liberty to seek new kingdoms, "so that many of the princes later erected their standards under the shadow of his scepter."[5] The affairs of Asia Minor and Syria





were delivered into the hands of his brother, Tutush, who established the Turkoman rule in these provinces on a firm basis.

Matters in Egypt were meanwhile in a most miserable condition. "A great famine, the like of which had never been known since the days of Joseph the faithful, desolated Egypt for seven years; men ate the flesh of their fellow-men, and, it is said, a single piece of bread was sold for fifty pieces of gold."[6] Pestilence spread through the land in 448, when thousands died daily. As a result of these conditions, the soldiers were not paid regularly, and lawlessness and licentiousness spread through the army. The negro corps, which had the protection and support of the caliph's mother, and which was always hostile to the Turkish soldiers, who constituted the regular army, became much stronger during this time, and the antagonism between the two parties frequently resulted in bloodshed. The court became entirely demoralized; viziers and kadis were changed so frequently during these few years that the chronicler, always painstaking and scrupulous, ceased recording even their names.[7] In 454 open feud broke out between the negro and the Turkish troops, and the country was thrown into a state of civil war, which lasted more than ten years. Naṣir ad-Daula, the leader of the Turkish troops, held the caliph for a long period in utter subjection and destitution, burnt the royal palace and the valuable royal library—a loss mourned by scholars to the present day—removed from Cairo all the adherents of the Fatimide dynasty, and contemplated the complete overthrow of the Fatimide rule. It is supposed that he intended to proclaim himself the ruler of the land.[8] The other Turkish generals, however, soon saw through his scheme, and Ildeguz, one of his captains, by strategy, killed Naṣir ad-Daula and two of his brothers, and was in consequence appointed to the office of vizier by the caliph, Mustanṣir. Ildeguz, however, did not treat the caliph any better than his predecessor, and Mustanṣir was obliged to look elsewhere for assistance. Such assistance soon came from a man who, though of lowly origin, possessed the determination and power that make the true leader, and that crowned all his undertakings with glorious success.

Abu-l-Najm Badr, an Armenian slave, purchased by the emir Jamal ad-Daula Ibn-Ammar in Syria, whence he obtained his name al-Jamâli, was a man of a strong will and of an insatiable desire for power and glory. In 455 he was appointed comman-

dant of the important stronghold of Damascus. The soldiers of the city, however, who would not submit to his stringent measures, rose in open revolt and drove him from the city in 456. In 458 he was again appointed commandant of Damascus, but because of another rebellion, Badr remained in ʿAkko, as the mayor of the town for a number of years, whence he endeavored to check the constant progress of the Turkoman armies in Syria. In 466 Badr was secretly appointed vizier by Mustanṣir. Badr accepted the appointment on the condition that he should be permitted to retain his Armenian corps, and that Ildeguz be taken prisoner. The conditions being granted, Badr arrived in Cairo on the eve of Wednesday, the 28th of Jumādā I, 466.[9] He soon rid himself of all the Egyptian emirs, divided their possessions among his own officers, and made himself master of the situation. Mustanṣir, overjoyed at the relief afforded him, showed Badr all honor, presented him with a precious garment, and conferred upon him the title of Emir al-Juyush (chief of the army)—an honorary title held only by a few prefects of Syria—and shortly afterward made him chief-kadi (Ḳādi-l-Ḳudāt) and chief court preacher, thus giving him full power over both the secular and the religious affairs of the realm. Badr soon showed himself worthy of the trust put in him. As soon as he established himself in his new position, he set out to restore peace and order in the land. In the course of three years he subjugated all the rebellious tribes on the coast (467) and in upper Egypt (469), showed mildness to the peaceful tribes, and placed the land in a condition of peace and prosperity, the like of which it had not enjoyed for many years.

In spite of his stratagem and diplomacy, Badr was unable to check the steady advance of Turkoman arms in Syria and Palestine, under the leadership of Atsiz ibn ʿAuk. Atsiz conquered Jerusalem and Ramla in 463,[10] and began to lay siege to Damascus in the same year. Not successful this time, Atsiz continued his onslaughts on Damascus every year, until 468, when, on account of a war that broke out in the city between the Berber soldiers and the young men of Damascus, the city was delivered into his hands, and the most frightful scenes of carnage ensued. Atsiz then introduced on the Friday Hoṭba, on the 26th of Du-l-Ḥijja, the name of the Abasside caliph al-Muḳtadi. The rule of the Fatimide dynasty over Damascus then ceased forever.

Emboldened by this victory, Atsiz determined to continue his expedition against the Fatimide caliph, and proceeded forthwith toward Egypt. He met with little opposition in Syria, and, in 469, he suddenly appeared before Cairo, at the head of a large army of Turkomans, Kurds, and Arabs. His troops were given full freedom to look for booty in the outskirts of the capital, while Atsiz was negotiating with Badr about terms of peace. He was willing to depart from Egypt, if a large sum of money be given to him. Badr, however, only wanted to gain time until his troops, that were still in upper Egypt, should arrive, and until he made some other arrangements for the strengthening of his forces. With his native foresight, Badr was ready for defeat and had prepared vessels, wherein the caliph and himself could make their escape, in case Atsiz succeeded. By bribing the Turkomans under Atsiz, however, Badr was so gloriously successful in an engagement that took place at the beginning of the month Rajab that Atsiz, accompanied by only a small band of adherents, had to escape to Syria, after one of his brothers had been killed and another had lost his arm. In Damascus, where he left one of his brothers in command, everything was in good order, and Atsiz was so pleased with the reception accorded him that he relieved the citizens of the taxes for a whole year. The rest of Syria and Palestine, however, embraced this opportunity to throw off the yoke of the Turkomans, and again declared themselves for Mustanṣir and the Fatimide dynasty, so that Atsiz had to begin anew his work of conquest in these provinces. He took Jerusalem after a short siege, and put to death the kadi and other municipal officers, together with three thousand of the inhabitants of the city. He then proceeded to Gaza, and reduced to subjection the inhabitants of Syria as far as Al-Arish, close to the Egyptian boundary. In 471 Badr sent an army under Naṣir ad-Daula to Damascus. Atsiz was compelled to call to his assistance the emir Tutush, the brother of Malik Shah who had been appointed prefect of Syria. Tutush hastened to his aid, the Egyptians withdrew without even attempting to oppose him, and Tutush was welcomed by Atsiz at the city gates. Tutush ordered Atsiz to be seized and executed on the spot, being probably prompted by a feeling of jealousy of Atsiz' previous victories, and made himself master of Damascus on the 11th of Rabi II, 472.

Atsiz' siege of Cairo, and his subsequent shameful defeat at

the hands of Badr al-Jamâli, form the burden of this poem. The exultation of the inhabitants of the Egyptian capital over the success of their vizier must have been very great and general among all the classes of the population. There might have been an additional reason that prompted this Jewish poet to rejoice over the defeat of the Turkomans. As appears from the poem, the conquest of Jerusalem by Atsiz was very sorely felt by the Jews. The author dwells at great length on the cruelties perpetrated against the inhabitants of the Holy City, and describes the defeat at Cairo as a direct retribution against the Turkomans. Besides, the Jews were greatly attached to the Fatimide dynasty, and especially to Mustanṣir, who treated them kindly and gave them many privileges.

THE TEXT.

The origin and development of mediæval Jewish poetry have formed the subject of much scholarly investigation in modern times. The style, method, diction, and metre; the sources, both Jewish and foreign, from which these poets have drawn their inspiration; the influences exerted upon them by contact with Arabic culture; the historical development of the payyeṭanic literature; the special themes of the Jewish poets of the Middle Ages—all these received special treatment by men like Zunz,[11] Delitzsch,[12] Dukes,[13] Geiger,[14] and others. We shall, therefore, confine ourselves here to a discussion of the characteristics that especially mark the production that is now under consideration.

Our author follows in the footsteps of the earlier Jewish payyeṭanim in employing a language which, although mainly based on biblical Hebrew, diverges widely from it, both as regards the form of expression and the meaning attached to various words. All the payyeṭanim, being saturated with the Talmud and familiar with its mode of expression, frequently thinking of biblical passages, not as they occur in the Bible, but rather in connection with the peculiar interpretation attached to them in talmudic and midrashic writings, indulged in allusions and metaphors that can be understood only by those who have imbibed the spirit of the rabbinical writings and are at home in the vast talmudic and midrashic literature. This fact will not appear strange, when we consider that the Hebrew language was known to these writers, not as a living tongue, but as a medium of religious intercourse, and the religious intercourse of the Jews of all

ages was mainly centered around the Talmud and the liturgy, which was in itself, to a large extent, produced by the rabbis. Hence, the subjects treated by these poets, being mostly of a religious nature, lending themselves readily to such figures as are employed in the talmudic Agada, were naturally colored by the peculiar mode of expression employed in that literature. Thus, while influenced to a large extent by Arabic poetry as regards the outward form, the Jewish poets always remained on Jewish soil, not only in thought and subject-matter, but also in diction, figure, and allusion.[15]

The chief peculiarity of this poem consists in its theme. In the whole realm of mediæval Jewish poetry few poems can be found that deal with a historical event not intimately connected with the history of the Jews. That such poems have not come down to us in large numbers does not prove that they did not exist. It is very likely that some event of great importance stirred the soul of some Jewish poet to compose a song or an elegy, as the case might have required. It merely proves that the Jews of those times, and also of later years, were so much occupied with their own affairs, so much absorbed in the interests of their own religion and history, that they neglected to preserve poems that were not strictly Jewish. Persecution tends to make a people self-centered, especially when solidarity is regarded as the only remedy against entire annihilation. The limited horizon of the mediæval Jews betrays itself chiefly in their devotion to their religion and its observances, and whatever had no direct bearing on faith and ritual was considered of little value. Shut up in the Ghetto by inimical external forces, the Jew voluntarily cramped his interests and aspirations, became callous to events occurring outside of the Ghetto walls, and regarded with indifference incidents that might have stirred the world, but did not directly affect him. Influenced by that particular view-point that the Jew was compelled to take with regard to the outside world, the poets, even those who did not confine themselves to purely religious themes, and wrote on love, wine, and play, produced few poems that deal with secular history. It is therefore of particular interest to find a poem that has but a remote relation to Jewish religion, history, or life, written by a Jew and preserved in a Genizah in a Jewish synagogue.

That the genius of the Hebrew language does not lend itself

readily to a description of battles and sieges can be seen from this poem. Our author is not devoid of poetic genius, and in a few places the narrative is very vivid, and often highly poetic and even thrilling. Still, as a whole, this poem compares very unfavorably with the master-productions of men like Yehudah Halevi, Moses ibn Ezra, and Solomon ibn Gabirol. Influenced by the earlier school of payyeṭanim, whose language is obscure and whose figures are frequently forced, dealing with a subject that is foreign to the Jewish mind and to the Hebrew language. our author produced a poem that is, from the poetic standpoint, of mediocre value only.

There is no particular form of metre followed in this poem, Most of the lines consist of twelve syllables, six in each hemistich, while many[16] follow the regular metre, very often employed by the payyeṭanim, corresponding to the Arabic Hazaj,[17] which consists of a composite syllable followed by two plain syllables, twice repeated in each hemistich.[18] It is obvious that the author made no conscious effort to retain this metre all through his poem, since the exceptions are too numerous to allow such a suggestion. The rhyme, however, is strictly observed, all lines, with a few exceptions,[19] ending in ִים. This is the simplest and easiest rhyme, since it was of little consequence to change a singular into a plural or a feminine into a masculine in order to get this ending. The author does not follow the alphabetical acrostic, common in mediæval Jewish poetry, nor does he make an acrostic of his own name, according to the practice of the payyeṭanim. He introduces his poem with a quotation from the book of Psalms —a book with which he was very familiar—in place of the regular Arabic introduction, "In the name of the most merciful God." Some might detect in the first five hemistichs an attempt to form an acrostic on the tetragrammaton, a practice largely followed by the later Jewish writers in introducing their compositions. This, however, might have been entirely accidental. The beginning of the poem in l. 3 bears direct signs of Arabic influence.[20]

Our author freely indulges in creating new forms for words, both in forming plurals for nouns and conjugations for verbs. He does not go quite as far as the earlier payyeṭanim, who created, as Zunz[21] puts it, "ephemeral creations," formed for a certain purpose, without any intention to have them become a

part of the language. Still, he frequently deviates from biblical usage in the formation of words and phrases, in most cases for the sake of the rhyme or of completing a line. Of the peculiar plural formations[22] may be mentioned such forms as זעמים (l. 100), גשמים, טלים (l. 101), ימינים, שמאלים (l. 111), כרסומים (l. 129), and others; of masculine endings given to feminine nouns may be mentioned such as כלמים (l. 98; from כְּלִמָּה), נקמים (l. 99, from נְקָמָה), רננים (ll. 109, 142, from רְנָנָה), במים (l. 125, from בָּמָה), נשמים (l. 127, from נְשָׁמָה), בהמים (l. 137, from בְּהֵמָה), and others. Our author, like many of the other payyeṭanim, is very fond of rare words and hapaxlegomena. As examples of these may be cited כַּמָּה (l. 9), שַׁפְרִיר (l. 38), רַשָׁם (l. 85), עַגָם (l. 133), סָתְיו (l. 140), and others. Great liberty is taken by the author in making new forms for verbs. Besides using verbs in conjugations not found in the Bible, the author also creates new forms, especially when the rhyme requires it. A legitimate liberty is taken by him in treating verbs *mediae geminatae* after the analogy of triliterals, as התמים for הֵתַם (l. 3), השמים for הֵשַׁם (l. 15), התמים for הֵתַם (l. 26), which, however, does not occur in the Hiphil.

A characteristic of this poem is the frequent use of the conjunction ו in the beginning of lines—a usage frequently followed by Arabic[23] and Hebrew[24] writers when dealing with subjects that require vivid description. Nearly two-thirds of the lines of this poem begin with ו—a fact that adds vivacity and grace to the description, although much discouraged by more modern writers. The conjunction גם is also used here very often (about fifty-three times), obviously for the same reason. Free use is made of the particle ל, which is used not only to express the indirect object, or with the infinitive to express purpose, but also with verbs that usually take the direct object (*e. g.*, ll. 16, 35, 47, 51, *et al.*). Other peculiarities in style and diction will be noted in the notes to the text.

THE AUTHOR.

The name of the author of this poem, as given at the end of the manuscript, Solomon, son of Joseph, Ha-Kohen, is unknown to Jewish history. The poem itself throws but little light on the life of its author. It can, however, be safely assumed that he was an inhabitant of Fostat or Cairo, and that he lived at the time during which the incident narrated here took place. None

but an eyewitness could have described the siege of Cairo, and the incidents attendant upon the appearance of the enemy at its gates, with such minuteness. The high tribute paid to al-Mustanṣir and to his vizier Badr indicates that the author lived during the latter part of the reign of Mustanṣir. The knowledge that the author displays of events occurring at that time in Syria and Palestine points to the same conclusion. These, however, are all the internal evidences of the identity of our author.

More light is thrown upon the descent and family relations of our author by the epithet he attaches to his name. He calls himself נין גאונים (a descendant of Geonim), and this appellation gives us a clue as to his origin. Among the Genizah fragments, lately discovered by Professor S. Schechter, there is one, known as Megillat Abyathar,[25] which is of greatest importance to mediæval Jewish history. Professor W. Bacher[26] thinks that a new chapter must be added to Jewish history, as constructed from this fragment. From this document we learn that the office of the Gaonate existed in Palestine for a considerable time, after it had ceased in Babylon with the death of Hai Gaon. The Megillat Abyathar presents the contention that existed at that time (1083) about the religious jurisdiction over the Jews of Egypt and Palestine. We shall present here a few facts, gathered from this and from other writings, which have a direct bearing upon the descent and relations of the author of our poem.

Hai, son of Sherira, gaon of Pumbedita, died in 1038. The gaonate in Babylon, which was intrusted with the Jewish religious affairs for nearly four and a half centuries, then came to a close. For a short time[27] after the death of Hai, the office of the gaonate was assumed by Hezekiah, the exilarch, but this was merely nominal — a shadow of the original position. Already during the life of the last gaon, Hai, there is mention of the existence of an academy in Palestine, which assumed the same functions as those exercised by the academies presided over by the Babylonian Geonim.[28] In a fragment, published by Dr. Neubauer,[29] Solomon ben Yehudah is mentioned as the gaon of Palestine in 1046.[30] Joseph, the son of Solomon, is supposed to have been the gaon until 1054, when he died.[31] The gaonate then passed over to Daniel ben Azariah, a scion of the exilarch family. When Daniel died in 1062,[32] Elijah, the brother of Joseph, became gaon and ruled the Diaspora until 1094. When

Jerusalem was wrested from the hands of the Fatimide caliph by Atsiz ibn 'Auk in 1071,[33] the gaon and his academy moved to Tyre. Abyathar, the son of Elijah, became gaon after his father's death, and, in order to vindicate his position against the pretenses of David ben Daniel, the descendant of the Babylonian exilarchs, who was proclaimed exilarch in Egypt, where he had many supporters, and attempted to make also the Palestinian Jews bow to his authority, Abyathar wrote the above-mentioned Megillah (1094). While Abyathar remained in Tyre, the next generation of geonim lived in Egypt.[34]

There can be but little doubt that this Solomon ben Joseph Ha-Kohen, the descendant of Geonim, was a member of the illustrious family of Palestinian Geonim, who prided themselves on their priestly descent. It is, however, uncertain whether he was the son of Joseph who died in 1054. The fact that Joseph lived in Palestine, while our author was apparently an inhabitant of Fostat, would not militate against this supposition. The Jewish communities of Egypt and Palestine were at that time united by many ties. While during the lifetime of Joseph there seemed to have been a feud between these communities on account of the intrigues of Daniel ben Azariah,[35] after the death of the latter, in 1062, peace was restored, and the Egyptian Jewish community willingly submitted to the authority of the Palestinian Geonim.[36] It is therefore not at all improbable that, after the death of his father, Solomon should have settled in Egypt. His praises of Mustanṣir and of the government in general, although the government had supported Daniel,[37] is not at all strange. The Jews were always well disposed toward the Fatimide caliphs and neglected no opportunity to express their gratitude for the kind treatment accorded them. This was especially so in the case of Mustanṣir, toward whom the Jews entertained the most friendly feelings.[38] Joseph probably died young, since his brother Elijah, who succeeded him in the gaonate, lived thirty years after Joseph's death.[39] Solomon, the son of Joseph, might have been quite a young man in 1077, when the event narrated in this poem occurred. In a *testatum*, copied from Fragment T.-S. 20. 31, dated 1092, and apparently written in Fostat, a Solomon Ha-Kohen, son of Joseph, "the father of the academy,"[40] is mentioned. It is very tempting to identify this Solomon with the author of our poem.

Among the Genizah fragments now in the possession of David Werner Amram, Esq., of Philadelphia, there is one that bears directly upon our subject, and that may serve to clear up the genealogy of this gaonic family. It is a prayer, probably read in the synagogue on the sabbath, for the souls of illustrious dead,[41] and contains the names of Geonim, Negidim, rabbis, and so forth. In the list of the family of Geonim, the following passage occurs, which rather conflicts with the accepted theory about this family: "For the good memory of the dead, the memory of the Geonim of Israel . . . . until our lord and master Solomon Ha-Kohen, the chief of the academy Geon Jacob,[42] and his son Elijah Ha-Kohen, the chief of the academy Geon Jacob, and his brother Joseph Ha-Kohen, the father of the court of justice for all Israel."[43] The fact that Joseph is mentioned after Elijah, and is not given the regular title of "chief of the academy Geon Jacob," borne by the other Geonim, but is called the "father of the court of justice," is rather perplexing. In view of this fragment and of other evidences, I beg to submit the following theory:

It was customary for the eldest son of a gaon to bear the title of "father of the court of justice," or that of "father of the academy." These two titles seem to have been interchangeable, so that one and the same man might be called at one time by one title and another time by the other.[44] It is probable that Joseph, the eldest son of the gaon Solomon, also bore this twofold title during the lifetime of his father. Soon after Solomon's death, Daniel ben Azariah, supported by the government, began his feud against the Palestinian gaonic family, and prevented Joseph from assuming the title of gaon, so that Joseph was really never recognized officially as gaon, and remained up to his death with the title of "father of the court of justice" or "father of the academy." The fact that Abyathar in his Megillah designates him as gaon,[45] merely proves that he recognized him as such, but in official documents, such as the memorial prayer and the *testatum*, he was known only by his official title. Solomon, the son of Joseph, was perhaps too young at the time of Daniel's death, when peace was restored in the community, to claim the title of gaon, which really belonged to him by right of descent, he being the son of Joseph, the eldest son of Solomon. Thus the gaonate passed over to Elijah, Solomon's uncle. In 1082, however, when Elijah called a meeting of all Israel at Tyre and appointed his son

Abyathar as his successor in the gaonate, his son Solomon as the "father of the court of Justice," and a stranger, Zadok, son of Josiah, as "the father,"[46] Solomon, son of Joseph, was displeased, and perhaps gave his support to David, the son of Daniel, the exilarch, who attempted to wrest the authority of the Palestinian Geonim. The *testatum* quoted above was drawn up in "the great court of the lord David the exilarch, son of our lord Daniel Gaon, the Nasi of all Israel"; hence Solomon withheld from mentioning his father's name as Joseph *Gaon*, but refers to him merely as "father of the academy," the title which he held officially. This would still further explain the reason for the great adulation the author gives in this poem to Mustanṣir and his court, who is similary praised by David in another fragment.[47] This suggestion, although not essential to the establishment of the identity of our author, merits some consideration at the hands of scholars. I expect, in the near future, to publish the memorial prayer in Mr. Amram's collection.

THE TEXT.

Column 1.

יי ידין עמים[48] יי לארך ימים[49]
הוא דיין אלמנות והוא אבי היתומים[50]
הראית[51] נפלאות אל[52] אשר עשה וגם התמים[53]
וגם הציל לבית עלי[54] נאות קדר[55] התמים
המלך הגדול אשר הגיד תעלומים[56]
אלמסתנצר באללה מעד הואבא תמים[57]
יחי לעד ברוב הטוב וגם יהיה לקיומים[58]
הכהן בן כהנים הטהורים[59] השלימים[60]
וגם בניו הכמיהים[61] לכהונה[62] בני אומים[63]
וגם עבדיו האוהבים בנפשותם ללחומים[64]
ובראשם קצין[65] צבאות יהיידהו דר מעונים[66]
אשר הוא ראש לכל ראשים בכל גוים וכל אמים
אשר אורו כאור שמש לא יבוש כנכלמים[67]
אשר חרבו מרוטה[68] על כל אויבים וכל קמים
לתכליתם[69] זמנו[70] אל וגם כלם וגם השמים
לטירותם וארמנותם אשר בנום עלי רמים[71]
וגם תתך[72] ראשיהם דין צדק באשימים
ישגבהו אלהינו יאיילהו[73] לעולמים
ושמשיו וכל עבדיו אשר ריחם מבושמים[74]
ובראשם זקן ההוד[75] והכבוד בסיומים[76]

האהוב הנאמן כמו אחים מותאמים [77]
ישמרהו צורינו לעזרהו בכל פנים [78]
יערב לך [79] שרינו סגול עם [80] ראש לכל עמים
קחה מנחה ומנוחה רוב ברכות ורוב שלומים [81]
ותן [82] קידה [83] מיהידה [84] ברוב הידה והגיונים [85]
לאל עזר וגם נצר [86] והכהיד צר וגם ההמים [87]
וגם הישיש [88] בני אל חי [89] הישרים התמימים
אשר עשו רוב צדקות [90] ומתענים וגם צמים
ושואלים [91] כל שבועים [92] וגם לילות וגם ימים [93]
לאל החי והשדי הצור פעלו תמים [94]
והעתירם [95] להסתירם [96] וגם ענם ממרומים
בלא [97] מנחה ולא קרבן ולא קטרת ולא סמים
ולא נבואה ולא אורים ולא תומים ולא חלומים [98]
וגם הציב למכמורת [99] וגם הימיט לפעמים
וגם פיתה ללב [100] אויב להקריבו אל תהומים [101]
ויעברו הנהרות וגם דרכו [102] האגמים [103]
ויהיו כאויבים כנוטרים ונוקמים [104]
ונכנסו במו שפריר [105] בזוז וגם שפוך דמים
וגם גלו העריות וגם פתחו האסמים [106]
והם עם זר מתאכזר [107] וגם נאזר בנרקמים [108]
מחומשים [109] משולשים [110] וגם ראשים לאמים [111]
וגם לובשים קובעות [112] בם שחורים ואדומים
וגם קשת וגם כידון [113] בנות אשפה [114] בפנימים
ויצעקו כמו פילים [115] וינהמו כהמות [116] ימים
להרעידם להפחידם אשר [117] למולם [118] מתקוממים

COLUMN 2.

ויתגודדו [119] כגלי ים לשוב אחור מעיימים
וללשונם מלעיגים [120] במו מרמה מתרמים
מעורבבים [121] ארמניים [122] וערביאים ואדומים [123]
ויונים [124] ואשכנזים [125] ורפתים [126] ותוגרמים [127]
וגם רעים והטאים כשוטים [128] לא כחלומים [129]
וישאו הערים וגם היו לשוממים [130]
וישמחו בלבותם [131] וגם לנהול כמדומים [132]
ונמלך [133] הוא במנחשים יהתלו [134] בו הקוסמים
ומהנותם מסיעים ולמארב הם שמים
והם פוהדים וגם אומרים לעבדיהם נתהמים [135]
ונכשלו ונהשלו ועיניהם נעצמים [136]
ונלכדו בשחיתות [137] בני זמות וגם זמים [138]
והכר אל עוונותם והטאותם התומים [139]

ורעותם אלי כל איש   וצוררים כל היקומים[140]
והפילם והשפילם   ודיכדך[141] בם דומימים[142]
וגם זכר עשותם עם   אנשי הירושלמים
אשר הֵצֵרוּ להם   שתי שנים שני פעמים[143]
וגם שרפו הגדישים   והחריבו המקומים
ויקצצו העצים   ויירמסו הכרמים
ויסובבו את העיר   על ההרים הרמים
והחריבו הקברים   והשליכו העצמים
וגם בנו ארמונים   להסות בה מחמים
והציבו מזבח   הרוג עליו הזעומים[144]
והאנשים והנשים   רוכבים עלי ההומים
צועקים אֵל אֵל אלים[145]   לשַׁכֵּךְ רוב החֵמים[146]
עומדים כל הלילה   להניסה לתנומים
והאויבים מהריבים   ומעריבים ומשכימים
וירעו הארצות[147]   ויהשפו[148] האדמים
והם עומדים על דרכים   עשות כקין זומימים
והותכים האזניים   וגם האָךְ משלימים
וישללו המלבושים   להציגם עירומים[149]
וגם ישאגו כאריות   וככפירים נְהָמִים
ולא ידמו בני אדם   ולחיות הם דומים
וגם זונות וגם זונים   ובזכרים נְחָמִים[150]
וגם רעים והטאים   ומכעיסים כסדומים
וירוששו בני טובים[151]   והרעיבו למונעמים[152]
ויצאו כל בני העיר   ובשדה הם הומים
וגם עוטים על שפם[153]   מכאֵבם דומימים[154]
ולא ריחמו אלמנות   ולא חסו על יתומים
ומה יעשו ואָן יחסו   והטאותם נרשמים[155]
ושריהם הם התעום   וראשיהם החכמים[156]
סוררים הם וגנבים   ולהרע מהוכמים[157]
ותעלולים[158] בם מושלים   להנהיגם לבלומים[159]
וקינא אל[160] למקדש אֵל   ויזרם[161] נזרמים[162]

Column 3.

על רוע מעשיהם   גלויות גם נעלמים[163]
וישנו דתות אל   וישנו הכתמים[164]
ומרצחים ומרכילים   ומגיעים דם בדמים[165]
באר שחת להורידם   בתוך עומקי התהומים
יאבדם ימחה זכרם[166]   ולא יראו בנעימים
תהא עליהם יוקדת   עם גחלי היתמים[167]
עוונותם אם נספר   תהא בושה וכלמים

מהמ:ם כעס אל   וגם שלח לנקמים
כלה ומרצחים
93 והטאים החדשים   נתוספו על קדומים[168]
ובא יהריב עולמו   ברוב האף ובזעמים
100 וגם מנע הרביבים   וגם טלים וגשמים
וגם הרבו העיינות   ולא רוו התלמים[169]
וגם היו כסדומים   ולעמורה הם נדמים[170]
אזי הגביר לאויב   להכהידם כחרמים[171]
ואשורים וצפונים[172]   הובילם על הלומים[173]
105 ובא הצר עלי מבצר   בקול המולה וברעמים
כלה לכדה   אספל
110 ודמו מלוך למו פסטאט[174]
ועיניהם נשתמים[175]
106 ברוב מהולות ובדגלים   כמו קרני הראימים[176]
ונכנס צר אלי אוצר   וגם פתח לסתומים
והלך צר לדמשק[177]   במזל טוב[178] וברננים[179]
לכדה גם ישב בה   כמות[180] מאתים ימים[181]
111 ובא ורץ אל עיר המלוכה   הסבוכה בענים[182]
הידועה במו קאהרה   לכל גויים וכל אמים
ויץ[183] מחנה לעזורים   ובם הראש למהכימים

וצג[184] הגלים כעמודים   מבני כוש בני חמים
115 ובא האיש ברוב הימות   ורוב אימות והאימים[185]
וערביאים והגריאים[186]   משמאולים ומימינים
ובא אויב ברוב גאון   לבלוע (ב)עממים[187]
צור הפיר עצת גוים   הניא מחשבות עמים[188]
והמזל אזי שפל[189]   ב(נו)ת עיש וגם כימים[190]
121 ב וצעקו בני אברהם   (ויש) מע אל הרחומים[191]

120 א ונצחום עדת עלי   עזורי נין ומזמים[192]
122 למכה מלכים גדולים   ויהרוג מלכים עצומים[193]
וצוה אל היות אויבים   כמו חרשים וכאלמים[194]
ולא רצם ולא חלצם   בני במות וגם במים
125 ועד שעה בפגיעה[195]   היו חללים גם דרומים[196]
ונגזרו ראשיהם   וגם עפו הנשמים[197]

Column 4.

ומי היה ומי יהיה[198]   ינאים זאת הנאומים[199]
ובזזום ושללום   ויירשום בברסומים[200]
וגם באו הראשים   בדודאים על שכמם[201]
130 פני מלך מצאוי ההן[202]   ועוז מזל בניתונים[203]

וגם צוה לשיבורם · וקיצוצם בקרדומים
ושלחם למדינות[204] לרפא לב העגומים
אשר היו כשכורים ורוהותם נפעמים[205]
יש מהם על תוכנם[206] ויש מהם נפצמים[207]
ופום ממליל רברבנים[208] היה לאבני דומים[209]
ונבלתם מושלכת[210] להיות ולבהמים
והנשאר בגויותם לתולעות וגם רמים
וגם יתרם הצבירום המרים המרים עצמים[211]
לקיץ ולהורף ולסתוורים[212] ולחמים[213]
וזה מעשה המנסה המכסה ברוב רחמים
עשו צדקות והודאות ובקשו אל ברננים
אבן מאסו הבונים היתה לראש הפנים[214]
בוא יבוא ברנה כי נרצו מאלמים אלמים[215]
תזכו לבנין בית ודבירים ואולמים
גם הטף והנשים והבנות והבנים
יום שני ארבע נשארו להדש שבט ובשנים
שנת דתתלז ליצירה ולחורבן משטימים[216]
שלמה הוא הכהן בן יהוסף נין גאונים[217]
כי ישר דבר יי וכל מעשיו באמונים[218]
כלף גם הטף
ואם תמנה מנה ק(ט)מ[219] יקרה היא כפנינים[220]

TRANSLATION.

The Lord judgeth nations; the Lord, forever and ever;
He is the judge of widows, and He is the father of orphans.
Hast thou seen the wonders of God, which he did and also completed?
How he saved the house of 'Ali, the dwellings of Kedar, the perfect—
The great king who relateth hidden things,
Al-Mustanṣir b'Illahi, Ma'ad Abu Tamim,
May he live forever in abundance of good, and may he be established eternally,
The priest, son of priests, the pure, the perfect—
And also his sons, who long for the priesthood, the sons of nations—
And also his servants, who love to battle at the risk of their lives,
And at their head, the captain of the hosts, (may He who dwells in the upper abodes grant him life),
Who is chief over all chiefs, of all peoples and of all nations,
Whose light is like the light of the sun, who is not abashed like those who are ashamed,
Whose sword is sharpened against all enemies and all those that rise up against him;

God appointed him to destroy them, and he did indeed destroy them and laid waste
Their walls and their palaces, which they built on the heights,
And cut off their heads; a righteous judgment against the guilty!
May our God strengthen him, may he strengthen him forever!
And his servitors and all his servants, whose odor is fragrant,
And at their head, the glorious old man, distinguished in honors,
The faithful friend, (he and the king) like twin brothers;
May our Creator preserve him, help him at every turn!
May it please you, our lord, beloved of the people, head of all nations,
Accept tribute and repose, many blessings and much peace.
And give cassia of the only one, with much thought and devotion,
To God who helped and saved, who destroyed the enemy and utterly confounded (them),
And rejoiced the children of the living God, the upright, the perfect ones,
Who did much charity, and afflicted themselves and also fasted,
And prayed for weeks, both day and night,
To the living God, the Almighty, the Rock, whose work is perfect.
And he granted their prayers for protection, and answered them from on high,
(Although they came) without meal-offering, without sacrifice, without incense, without spices,
Without prophecy, without Urim, without Tumim, without dreams.
And He ensnared the enemy and often overthrew them,
And he lured on the enemy to bring them to the boundary.
And they crossed the streams, and passed over the lagoons,
And they were like (mortal) foes, as those who are vindictive and revengeful,
And they entered Fostat, robbed and murdered,
And ravished and pillaged the storehouses;
They were a strange and cruel people, girt with garments of many colors,
Armed and officered—chiefs among "the terrible ones"—
And capped with hemlets, black and red,
With bow and spear and full quivers;
And they trumpet like elephants, and roar as the roaring ocean,
To terrify, to frighten those who oppose them,
And press forward as the waves of the sea, they cunningly devise their retreat,
And they stammer with their tongues, they endeavor to beguile with craftiness;
They are mingled of Armenians, Arabs, and Edomites,
And Greeks and Germans, Paphlogonians and Turks;
And they are wicked men and sinners, madmen, not sane,
And they laid waste the cities, and they were made desolate
And they rejoiced in their hearts, hoping to inherit.

But when (their chief) consulted the soothsayers, the diviners mocked him.
And they broke camp, and placed (men) in ambush,
And they hastened in fear, and also told their servants, "let us depart from the boundary!" (?)
And they stumbled and became weak, and their eyes were blinded,
And they were caught in the net—the sons of adultery.
And God remembered their iniquities and their sins that are sealed,
And their evil deeds against all men, that they harassed all creatures.
And He overthrew them and humbled them and crushed all the hopeful among them.
He also remembered what they had done to the people of Jerusalem,
That they besieged them twice in two years,
And burned the heaped corn and destroyed the places,
And cut down the trees and trampled upon the vineyards,
And surrounded the city upon the high mountains,
And despoiled the graves and threw out the bones,
And built palaces, to protect themselves against the heat,
And erected an altar to slay upon it the abominations;
And the men and the women ride upon the walls,
Crying unto the God of gods, to quiet the great anger,
Standing the whole night, banishing sleep,
While the enemy destroy, evening and morning,
And break down the earth, and lay bare the ground,
And stand on the highways, intending to slay like Cain,
And cut off the ears, and also the nose,
And rob the garments, leaving them stand naked,
And also roar like lions, and roar like young lions;
They do not resemble men, they are like beasts,
And also harlots and adulterers, and they inflame themselves with males,
They are bad and wicked, spiteful as the Sodomites.
And they impoverished the sons of nobles, and starved the delicately bred.
And all the people of the city went out and cried in the field,
And covered their lips, silent in their pains,
And they had no mercy on widows, and pitied not the orphans.
What should they do, whither should they seek protection, since their sins are recorded?
Their princes led them astray, their chiefs, the wise ones;
They are robbers and thieves, they are wise only to do evil;
Children rule over them, leading them with a halter.
But God was jealous for his sanctuary, and scattered them overwhelmed.
Because of their evil deeds, the revealed and also the hidden:
They changed the laws of God, they multiplied iniquities,
They are murderers and slanderers, cause blood to touch blood,

And new sins were added to the early ones,
To lower them to the pit of destruction, into the depths of the deep;
He will destroy them, He will wipe off their memory, and they shall not see pleasantness,
A burning shall be upon them, even burning coals:
Should we attempt to count their sins, it would be a shame and a disgrace.
Because of their violence, God was wroth and sent vengeance,
And he came, destroyed the world, with much wrath and anger,
And He also withheld the early rain, also dew and rain,
The springs were dried up and the beds were not watered.
They were like Sodomites, they resembled (the people of) Gomorrah.
Then he allowed the enemy to prevail, in order to uproot them (later) with utter destruction.
And the Assyrians and the Northerners, he led them for the purpose of striking them down.
And the enemy came to the fortress, with a noise of roaring and of thunder,
With much dancing and with banners, like the horns of the Re'em.
And the enemy entered the treasury, and opened the hidden places
And the enemy went to Damascus, with a happy star and with songs,
And they captured it and dwelt therein, for about two hundred days.
And they expected to reign in Fostat, but their eyes were blinded.
And they came in haste to the royal city, that is protected by clouds,
That is known as Cairo, to all peoples and all nations.
And there came forth the camp of the saved ones, and among them was the chief of the wise,
And placed flags like columns, for the sons of Kush, the sons of Ham.
And the chief came with great anger and with great terror,
And Arabians and Hagrites, to the left and to the right.
And the enemy came with much arrogance, to swallow up the nations.
But the Rock brought to naught the counsel of nations, He made of none effect the devices of peoples.
And their star declined, the daughters of Arcturus and Pleiades,
And the hosts of 'Ali conquered them — the saved, the descendants of Zamzumim;
The children of Abraham cried [and the merciful God harkened],
To him who smites great kings and slays mighty kings.
And God commanded that the enemy should be like the deaf and the dumb,
And he did not favor them, and He did not save them — the worshipers at high places,
And ere He turned to their supplication, they were slain and dead(?),

And their heads were cut off, and their souls fled away.
He who was and will be saith these words.
And they robbed them and spoiled them, and vanquished them by cutting them off.
And their chiefs came, with baskets upon their shoulders,
Seeking the accustomed favor of the king, and a happy fate by their submission (?),
But he commanded to crush them and to cut them up with axes,
And sent them to the provinces to heal the sorrowful hearts,
(Of those) who were like drunken men, whose spirits were troubled,
Some of them remained sound, others were wounded.
And the mouth that boasted of great things, became like a speechless stone.
And their corpses were cast to the wild beasts and animals,
And the remainder of their bodies, for worms and lizards,
And the remainder they gathered up in large heaps of bones,
For summer and winter, for autumn and spring.
And this is the work of the Tester, who protecteth with the multitude of His compassion.
Do ye charity and give thanks and pray to God with song.
The stone that the builders rejected is become the corner-stone.
He shall enter with song, for the binders of the sheaves were favored.
Ye shall live to see the building of the House, the Temple, and its halls,
Also the children and the women, the daughters and the sons,
For the word of God is upright, and all His works are faithful.
The second day, four were left in the month of Shebaṭ, and in years,
The year 4837 from the creation, and from the destruction (of the Temple) 1009.
Solomon, he is the priest, son of Joseph, descendant of Geonim.
And if you would count, count 149 (spell "destruction"). It is more precious than pears.

REFERENCES.

[1] In the autumn of 1896; *cf. Jewish Encylopedia*, Vol. V, *s. v.;* D. Kauffmann, in the Hebrew monthly *Hashiloah*, Vol. II, pp. 385, 481. Many of these fragments have been edited and published in various issues of the *Jewish Quarterly Review* (1896–1905) and other magazines.

I wish to extend my sincere thanks to Professor S. Schechter, now president of the Jewish Theological Seminary of America, for his kindness in permitting me the use of the manuscript, and for many valuable suggestions. I also take this opportunity to express my gratitude to Professor Morris Jastrow, Jr., of the University of Pennsylvania, for innumerable courtesies shown to me both in the preparation of this monograph and during the years that I took various courses with him.

[2] Raphe; *cf.* König, *Lehrgebäude der hebräischen Sprache* (Leipzig, 1881), Vol. I, p. 41; Gesenius-Kautzsch, *Hebräische Grammatik* (Leipzig, 1889), §142.

[3] The main source for this sketch is Wüstenfeld, *Geschichte der Fatimiden Chalifen*, in "Abhandlungen der königl. Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen," Vol. XXVII (Göttingen, 1881).

[4] Makrizi, Vol. I, p. 355; *cf.* Ibn Khallikan, *Biographical Dictionary*, translated by de Slane (Paris, 1842), Vol. III, p. 382.

[5] Gibbons, *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, ed. Smith (London, 1887), Vol. VII. pp. 155–66; *cf.* Müller, *Der Islam in Morgen- und Abendlande* (Berlin, 1885), Vol. I, p. 636.

[6] Ibn Khallikan, *loc. cit.*

[7] *Cf.* Wüstenfeld, *loc. cit.*, pp. 26–28, who quotes Sujuti (Bulak), Vol. II, pp. 92 and 117, where a list of thirty-nine viziers and forty-two chief kadis is given.

[8] See Wüstenfeld, *loc. cit.*, p. 36.

[9] Makrizi, Vol. I, p. 382; *cf.* Ibn Khallikan, *loc. cit.*, Vol. I, pp, 612, 613, where a very interesting incident is related about the advent of Badr at Mustansir's court.

[10] Wüstenfeld, *loc. cit.*, p. 38; Besant and Palmer, *Jerusalem* (New York, 1890), pp. 120–22.

[11] *Die synagogale Poesie des Mittelalters* (Berlin, 1855); *Literaturgeschichte der synagogalen Poesie* (Berlin, 1865).

[12] *Zur Geschichte der jüdischen Poesie* (Leipzig, 1836).

[13] *Zur Kenntniss der neuhebräischen religiösen Poesie* (Frankfurt, 1842).

[14] *Jüdische Dichtungen der spanischen und italienischen Schule* (Leipzig, 1856); *Divan des Abu'l Hassan Juda ha-Levi* (Breslau, 1851); *Salomo Gabirol und seine Dichtungen* (Leipzig, 1867).

[15] *Cf.* Dukes, *loc. cit.*, especially pp. 16–29, 112–35.

[16] *E. g.*, ll. 7, 12, 13, 15, 16, 18, 19, 26, 28, *et al.*

[17] *Cf.* Caspari-Wright, *Arabic Grammar*, 3d ed., Vol. II, p. 360.

[18] ⏑ – – – | ⏑ – – – || ⏑ – – – | ⏑ – – – ||. The Hebrew name for this metre is יתד ושתי תנועות, יתד ושתי תנועות, בדלת וכן בסוגר. This is the metre adopted in the well-known hymn of the Jewish liturgy beginning with the line

אֲדוֹן עוֹלָם אֲשֶׁר מָלַךְ, בְּטֶרֶם כָּל יְצִיר נִבְרָא

See Rosin, *Abraham Ibn Ezra* (Breslau, 1885), Introduction, §6, p. 9.

[19] Ll. 11, 22, 25, 109, 112, 117, 131, 142, 143, 146, 147, 148, 150 end in ִים.

[20] See note 51.

[21] *Literaturgeschichte der synagogalen Poesie*, p. 30.

[22] See Zunz, *Synagogale Poesie*, p. 118, and *Beilage*, pp. 374–77.

[23] *Cf.* Nöldeke, *Delectus Veterum Carminum Arabicorum* (Berlin, 1890), pp. 64, 70, 75, 77 79, *et al.*

[24] *Cf.* Ibn Ezra, ed. Kahana, Vol. I, pp. 156–60 (poems on chess play), pp. 191–204 (elegy on the destruction of Jewish communities in Spain); Halevi, ed. Harkavy, Vol. I, pp. 25–31 *et al.*

[25] Schechter, *Saadyana* (Cambridge, 1903), Fragment XXXVIII, pp. 80–104.

[26] *Jewish Quarterly Review*, Vol. XV, pp. 79–96.

[27] Two years, according to Ibn Daud, Sefer Ha-Kabbalah, ed. Neubauer, *Mediæval Jewish Chronicles*, Vol. I, p. 67; *cf.* Gratz, *Geschichte der Juden*, Vol. VI, p. 14; a longer period according to *Chronicles of Jerahmeel*, ed. Neubauer, *loc. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 177; *cf.* Bacher *loc. cit.*, p. 80.

[28] *Jewish Quarterly Review*, Vol. XIV, p. 233.

[29] *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 178.

[30] Bacher, *loc. cit.*, p. 82; Epstein in the *Monatsschrift*, Vol. XLVII, p. 345, objects to Bacher's assumption on the ground that Solomon ben Yehudah is not mentioned as a Kohen, a pedigree of which the Palestinian Geonim were particularly proud. Posnanski, however, in his *Schechters Saadyana* (Frankfort, 1903), agrees with Bacher. *Cf.* Schechter, *loc. cit.*, p. 81, n. 1. That the gaon preceding Joseph was called Solomon is further supported by the fragment in Amram's collection, referred to later.

[31] Schechter, *loc. cit.*, p. 88, l. 12.

[32] *Ibid.*, l. 15.

[33] See "Historical Sketch," p. 5.

[34] Bacher, *loc. cit.*, p. 92, and *Jewish Encyclopedia*, Vol. V, p. 572.

[35] Schechter, *loc. cit.*, p. 88, ll. 9, 10.

[36] *Ibid.*, l. 18.

[37] *Ibid.*, p. 81.

[38] *Cf.* Schechter, *loc. cit.*, Fragment XL; Goldziher, *Jewish Quarterly Review*, Vol. XV pp. 73, 74.

[39] Died 1084; Schechter, *loc. cit.*, p. 89, l. 23.

[40] שלמה הכהן ביר' יוסף אב הישיבה זצ"ל, quoted *ibid.*, p. 81, n. 2, last name.

[41] *Cf.* Gaster, in *Gedenkbuch zur Erinnerung an David Kauffmann* (Breslau, 1900), pp. 230, 241, Nos. XV and XVI.

[42] גאון יעקב was the name of the Palestinian academy, and the title ראש ישיבת גאון יעקב was the official title borne by the Geonim; *cf.* Schechter, *loc. cit.*, p. 81, n. 1.

[43] אב בית דין של כל ישראל.

[44] *Cf. ibid.*, p. 82, n. 4.

[45] *Ibid.*, p. 88, l. 8, יוסף הכהן ואליהו הכהן שני גאונים.

[46] *Ibid.*, p. 88, ll. 17–19.

[47] *Ibid.*, Fragment XII.

[48] Ps. 96:10; *cf.* Ps. 9:9.

[49] Ps. 93:5.

[50] *Cf.* Ps. 68:6.

[51] Arabic influence. It is the custom of Arabic poets to begin their poems with a rhetorical question. *Cf.* Ibn Hisham, 516, 517; Ibn Athîr, 3, 152, *et al.*

[52] Job 37:14; *cf.* Mic. 7:15; Ps. 78:11. See Schechter, *Saadyana*, פלאות להראות (Cambridge, 1893), Fragment XVII, l. 6, p. 46.

[53] Analogy of triliterals for the purpose of perfecting the rhyme. The regular form would be הֵתַם; *cf.* 2 Sam. 20:18.

[54] Regular appellation of the Fatimide dynasty of caliphs.

[55] Mentioned in the Bible as the son of Ishmael (Gen. 25:13; 1 Chron. 1:29); also as the name of a tribe of nomads in the Arabian desert (Isa. 21:16; 42:11; 60:7; Jer. 2:10; 49:28; Ezek. 27:21; *et al.*). In mediæval Jewish literature this name was used generically for all Mohammedans. See Ibn Ezra's commentary to Dan. 11:30, זהר הקדרי ראש מלכות בית ישמעאל; also Rosin's edition of Ibn Ezra's *Poems* (Breslau, 1887), Vol. II, p. 90, n. 6; Halevi, ed. Harkavy (Warsaw. 1893), Vol. II, p. 11; Al-Charizi, *Tachkemoni*, ed. Kaminka (Warsaw, 1899), pp. 8, 118; Schechter, *loc. cit.*, Fragment XXIII, verso l. 8, p. 50. Kedar is also supposed to have been the ancestor of Mohammed himself, according to Arabic tradition; see Caussin de Perceval, *Essai*, Vol. I, 175, quoted in *Jewish Encyclopedia*, Vol. VIII, p. 462.

[56] *Cf.* Job 11:6. Masculine instead of feminine ending (Ps. 44:22) for the sake of the rhyme.

[57] The full name of the caliph is المستنصر بالله ابو تميم معدّ. The author transferred the last phrase for the sake of the rhyme and added הרא, the last א of which is also to be joined to the next word.

[58] The word קַיָּם, which is frequently used by the mediæval payyeṭanim as one of the epithets by which God is described (*cf.* חי וקים נורא ומרום וקדוש, used as a refrain in various parts of the liturgy for the holidays; *cf.* Berakoth, 32*a*), is probably borrowed from the Arabic قَيُّوم "lasting, unchangeable, God." *Cf.* Ben Sira [ed. Levi], 42:23, note m.

[59] טהור denoting ethical purity is found only in the later books of the Bible (Job 14:4; Prov. 22:11), and rarely used as a noun (*cf.* Eccles. 9:2, where it is used in parallelism with צדיק and טוב). In rabbinic and mediæval Jewish literature this word is also rarely used as a noun (*cf.* Baba Mezia', 86*a*, שגופך טהור ונשמתך טהור).

[60] *Cf.* Shabbath, 33*b*, in interpretation of Gen. 33:18. In later Hebrew שלם is used in a more abstract sense, denoting intellectual and moral perfection. It is frequently employed in the long epithets preceding the name of one to whom a letter is addressed, either with or without the word החכם.

[61] Hapax., Ps. 63:2.

[62] כהונה as applied to the caliphate, and כהן (l. 8) to the caliph, is rather unusual. The Arabic كَاهِن (*Kor.*, LII, 29) is applied to a soothsayer, usually the instrument of a demon. It is sometimes also used in the sense of priest. The Hebrew כהן, besides its regular meaning, is sometimes used to denote a king or a prince (Gen. 14:18; Exod. 2:16; 3:1; 18:1; Zech. 6:13; *cf.* 2 Sam. 8:18, where the children of David are called כהנים; also 20:26, where Ira the Jairite is called כהן לדוד). From Gen. 14:18 it appears that the king, who also performed priestly functions, was given the name of כהן. This may be the reason why our author uses this designation for the Egyptian caliph, who was regarded as the ecclesiastical chief of the Mohammedan world, at least by his followers.

[63] This plural of אֻמָּה is found only once (Ps. 117:1); otherwise the plural is אֻמּוֹת (Gen. 25:16 [Ishmael], Numb. 25:15 [Midian]). The form אומים is not found in the Bible; *cf.* l. 12, where the ו is omitted.

[64] *Cf.* 2 Sam. 23:17, ההלכים בנפשותם (A. V. "that went in jeopardy of their lives"). The expression השלים נפש is frequently used in payyeṭanic literature to denote the idea of sacrificing oneself; see Zunz, *Literaturgeschichte der synagogalen Poesie*, p. 641, n. 15.

[65] See Judg. 11:6, 11; Josh. 10:24.

[66] Especially applied to divine abode; see Ps. 68:6; 90:1; 2 Chron. 19:27; *cf.* Montgomery, "The Place," *Journal of Biblical Literature*, Vol. XXIV, Part I (1905), p. 26.

[67] See 2 Sam. 19:4.

[68] Ezek. 21:14, 33.

[69] In biblical usage "extreme" (Ps. 134:22). In rabbinic literature it sometimes has the meaning of destruction, in the same sense as used here; *cf.* Numb. Rabba, XVIII, 12.

[70] Late Hebrew (Ezra 10:14; Neh. 10:35; 13:31), and rabbinic. The regular term for the summons of the court of justice is הזמנה (Ḳiddushin, 70*a*).

[71] *Cf.* Ps. 78:69.

[72] Aramaic and rabbinic (Ḥulin, 33*a*), probably related to the Arabic حَتَكَ = "to cut through, tear through," hence "decide" (Dan. 9:24); *cf.* Barth, *Etymologische Studien*, p. 23; Kohut, *Aruch Completum*, *s. v.*

[73] Denominative from אֱיָל ("strength," Ps. 22:20; 88:5). The verb is not found; *cf* Schechter, *loc. cit.*, p. 111, Fragment XLI, l. 7.

[74] The verb not found in the Bible. In rabbinic literature it means "to be pleasant" (Lam. Rabba, I, 38; Gen. Rabba, LXXXV, 4; Sukkah, 51*a*). and also "to be intoxicated" (Megillah, 7*b*; Baba Bathra, 73*b*; Shabbath, 66*b*; Sanhedrin, 38*a*), probably associated with the Arabic بَسَمَ = "to laugh, to be cheerful." The term מבושם is used in common parlance as a euphemism for "drunk." For the expression ריח מבושם see Cant. 4:10.

[75] Refers to Badr al-Jamāli, at that time about sixty-two years old. He is probably the same one referred to in l. 11 as קצין צבאות, since he held both offices at that time. that of chief of the army, chief kadi and chief court preacher; see "Historical Sketch, p. 9."

[76] Rabbinic, "completion, perfection" (Baba Mezia', 76*b*); also "to make a sign" (*cf.* סימן, Arab. سِيمَا, Gr. σῆμα). Here marks of distinction that were conferred upon Badr by the caliph.

[77] *Cf.* Cant. 4:2; 6:6; for the idea, *cf.* Ps. 133:1; see Zunz, *loc. cit.*, pp. 69, 648. Probably refers to the friendship that existed between Badr and Mustanṣir.

[78] Used here in the same sense as the Arabic phrase مِنْ كُلِّ وُجُوهٍ in every instance. The more usual form in mediæval Hebrew, however, is על כל פנים.

[79] *Cf.* Mal. 3:4; Ps. 104:34.

[80] A play on עם סגלה (Deut. 7:6; 14:2; 26:18; *cf.* Eccles. 2:8; Baba Bathra, 52*a*). The term סגול is not found. Used in later Hebrew in describing a man who is beloved by the people or by his fellow-students; see Schechter, *loc. cit.*, p. 63, n. 4.

[81] "Greetings;" *cf.* Berakoth, 14*a*.

[82] Meaning somewhat obscure.

[83] Exod. 30:24 ("in sacred oil"); Ezek. 27:19 ("merchandise"); see Löw, *Aramäische Pflanzennamen*, §§ 290, 295.

[84] An epithet given to Israel; see Ps. 68:7, and Rashi, *ad loc.*; *cf.* in liturgy for the festival of Sukkoth, Hosha'anot, *s. v.* אם אני חומה, יחידה ליחדך "the only one (Israel) to proclaim Thy unity."

[85] חידה = "allegory, parable" (Prov. 1:6; Ezek. 17:2); הגיונים = "musing, meditation" (Ps. 19:5). Plural not found. "With earnest prayer."

[86] Play on caliph's name.

[87] *Cf.* Exod. 14:24; 23:27; see l. 3 and note.

[88] Hiphil not found.

[89] *Cf.* Deut. 14:1.

[90] "Charity," later usage of the word. *Cf.* Berakoth, 6*b*, אגרא דתעניתא צדקתא "the merit in fasting lies in the charity distributed on that day."

[91] *Cf.* 'Aboda Zarah, 7*b*.

[92] This form of the plural is found only in Dan. 9:24, 25, 26; 10:2, 3; otherwise שבועות (Exod. 34:22; Deut. 16:9, 10, *et al.*).

[93] *Cf.* Ps. 42:4; 22:3.

[94] *Cf.* Deut. 32:4.

[95] As a rule, used in Niphal with ל (Gen. 25:21; Isa. 19:22).

[96] *Cf.* Ps. 64:3.

[97] See liturgy for Musaf of the Day of Atonement ('Abodah), *s. v.* ומרוב עונינו, where an alphabetical list is given of objects that Israel missed after the destruction of the temple. *Cf.* 1 Sam. 28:6.

[98] The lowest form of prophecy (Gen. 37:5–9; 40:8–19; chap. 41; Numb. 12:6; Job. 33:15; *et al.*). Much importance was attached to dreams in talmudic times, the most famous rabbis discussing dreams and their consequences with the greatest earnestness. *Cf.* especially Berakoth, 55*a*–57*b*; Ḥagigah, 5*b*. In the Middle Ages dreams were regarded by Jews with much concern (see Halevi, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 61, and Harkavy's note on p. 190), and to the present time Jews go to the rabbi for the purpose of having their dreams interpreted (see *Jewish Encyclopedia*, *s. v.* "Dreams").

[99] *Cf.* Jer. 5:26; Hab. 1:15.

[100] פתה with ל not found in Bible, usually takes direct object (Exod. 22:15; Jer. 20:7).

[101] Aram. תחומא, Arab. تُخْم = "boundary." In rabbinic legal phraseology, referring to the distance one may walk outside of the city limits on the sabbath, the term תחום שבת denotes 2,000 cubits on each side of the city; 'Erubin, 51*b*, *et al.*

[102] *Cf.* Hab. 3:15; Job 9:8; דרך without preposition is unusual.

[103] Characteristic of Egypt; *cf.* Exod. 7:19; 8:1.

[104] Lev. 19:18; Nah. 1:2; in later Hebrew the phrase assumed a stronger meaning, "vindictive;" *cf.* Shabbath, 63*a*; Yoma, 23*a*.

[105] "Royal canopy" (Jer. 43:10). In the translation the view expressed by Bacher (*Jewish Quarterly Review*, Vol. XV, p. 87, n. 1), identifying שפריר with Fostat, was adopted; *cf.* Schechter, *loc. cit.*, Fragment XXXVIII, p. 89, l. 28 and n. 12. For the etymology of שפריר see Delitzsch, *Prolegomena*, p. 126.

[106] *Cf.* Deut. 28:8; Prov. 3:10.

[107] Denominative from אכזר; *cf.* Numb. Rabba, VIII, 4.

[108] *Cf.* Judg. 5:30 ("spoils of war"); Ezek. 26:16 ("garments of princes").

[109] Form probably influenced by משולשים; חֲמֻשִׁים = "in battle array" (Exod. 13:18; Numb. 32:17; Josh. 1:14; 4:12; Judg. 7:11; *cf.* Halevi, *loc. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 28 = "ready, prepared").

[110] *Cf.* Gen. 15:9; Ezek. 42:6; Eccles. 4:12; here probably denominative from שליש = "officer" (Exod. 14:7; 2 Kings 7:2, 17, 19; 9:25; 15:25). Perhaps "divided in lines of five and three."

[111] "Terrors," ancient inhabitants of Moab (Gen. 14:5; Deut. 2:10, 11; Jer. 50:38; and Targum Jonathan, *ad loc.*, see l. 115).

[112] *Cf.* 1 Sam. 17:38; Ezek. 23:24 = כובע, Ezek. 27:10; Isa. 59:17.

[113] *Cf.* Jer. 6:23; 50:42.

[114] *Cf.* Lam. 3:13 (בני אשפה); see Job 39:23; בנות אשפה not found.

[115] Arab. فِيل, Aram. פילא, is recorded as having been used by Antiochus in his wars against the Maccabbees, for the purpose of carrying confusion into the ranks of the enemy (2 Macc. 15:20; 3 Macc. 5:2; 1 Macc. 1:16; 4:30). In the Talmud better known because of its size than because of the noise it produced (Berakoth, 55*b*; Shabbath, 77*b*; *cf.* Lewysohn, *Zoologie des Talmuds*, § 173).

[116] *Cf.* Isa. 17:12.

[117] Aramaic construction, accusative suffix with pronoun.

[118] מול in the sense of "opposite to" or "against" is not biblical; it usually means "in front of" without any idea of opposition.

[119] Denominative from גדוד; *cf.* Jer. 5:7; Mic. 4:14.

[120] *Cf.* Isa. 28:11; 32:4; 33:19.

[121] Reduplication from ערב, which is not found as a verb, but as a noun, indicating a heterogeneous body attached to a people (Neh. 13:3; Exod. 12:38 [ערב רב; perhaps reduplicated for emphasis, as in פקח קוח, Isa. 61:1; לחפר פירות, Isa. 2:30; see Olshausen, *Hebräische Grammatik*, p. 354]). In rabbinic literature this reduplication occurs with the meaning of mixing, confounding (Sanhedrin, 42*a*; Targum to Numb. 11:4 [ערברבין = אספסף]; Kil'aim, V, 1, Exod. Rabba, XI, 3).

[122] Armenians were known to the Jews as early as the time of the Maccabbees (Josephus, *Antiquities*, XIII, 14, 4; *cf.* Yebamoth, 45*a* [captives that came from Armenia], *cf.* Neubauer, *La géographie du Thalmud*, pp. 370, 371).

[123] Regularly used by mediæval Jewish writers to designate Christians, while "Ishmael" was the collective name for Mohammedans; see Rosin, *Ibn Ezra*, Vol. II, p. 90, n. 6; *cf.* l. 4, n. 55.

[124] Ionians, Greeks (Ezek. 27:13; Joel 14:6); descendants of Javan, son of Japheth (Gen. 10:2; *cf.* Baba Ḳama, 82*b*; Megillah, 9*a*; *et al.*).

[125] *Cf.* Gen. 10:3; Jer. 51:27; see Gen. Rabba, XXXVII, 1, where all three אשכנז ריפת ותוגרמה are identified with גרמניקיא; see Yoma, 10*b*. In modern Hebrew this is the common appellation for Germany. See *Jewish Encyclopedia*, Vol. II, *s. v.* "Ashkenazim."

[126] Gen. 10:3; *cf.* Josephus, *Antiquities*, I, 4, 1 = Paphlogonians.

[127] Gen. 10:3; Ezek. 27:14. [128] *Cf.* Ḥagigah, 3*b*.

[129] *Cf.* Isa. 38:16; Job 39:4. In rabbinic literature used in opposition to שוטה (Rosh Hashanah, 28*a*; Tosefta Terumoth, I, 3; *cf.* Ibn Ezra, *Poems* [ed. Kahana], Vol. I, p. 58).

[130] *Cf.* Isa. 6:11. [131] *Cf.* Exod. 4:14. [132] *Cf.* Esther 4:13. [133] *Cf.* Neh. 5:7.

[134] In the sense of "to fool, deceive;" *cf.* 1 Kings 18:27; Job 17:2.

[135] Obscure. Perhaps from rabbinic תחום = "boundary, to surround" (Baba Bathra, 56*a*; Pesiḳta, 137*b*). The context, however, points to נתחמים being the object of אומרים and not an epithet of עבדים. It is possible that it was meant to convey some such idea as "let us warm up, be inspired with hope" (נִתְחַמֵּם), but this is very much forced.

[136] *Cf.* Isa. 29:10; 33:15. [137] *Cf.* Lam. 4:20.

[138] *Cf.* l. 79 זמים is added to fill up the line and for the sake of the rhyme.

[139] *Cf.* Halevi (ed. Harkavy), Vol. I, p. 93, וכלם בטבעת ימין עליון חתומים referring to nature generally. Here the reference is to sins that are recorded in heaven; *cf.* Musaf prayer for the New Year and the Day of Atonement, *s. v.* ונתנה תקף, where it is supposed that every man testifies to his sins by his own signature וחותם יד כל אדם בו.

[140] *Cf.* Gen. 7:4, 23; Deut. 11:6, not found in plural.

[141] Reduplication from דכך or דכא = "to crush;" *cf.* Targum to Ps. 143:3; Lev. Rabba, XXXIV, 6; *cf.* Ben Sira (ed. Levi), 4:2.

[142] "Silent, resigned," but perhaps "hopeful;" *cf.* Ps. 37:7; 62:6; Job 29:21. In 'Aboda of Jose ben Jose, דמומים = "dead;" see Zunz, *Synagogale Poesie*, p. 27.

[143] See "Historical Sketch," pp. 9, 10. The second attack on Jerusalem occurred after the incident narrated here, but soon after. The expression "two years" is inaccurate, for the first conquest of Jerusalem took place in 463 A. H., while the second attack occurred in 469 A. H.

[144] "Hateful, hated" (*cf.* Prov. 22:14, זעום ה׳ = "he with whom God is angry, the abhorred of God"); *cf.* Halevi, Vol. I, p. 93, רגעיו הזעומים = "hateful moments."

[145] *Cf.* Dan. 11:36. [146] *Cf.* Esther 2:1; 7:10. [147] *Cf.* Isa. 24:19.

[148] *Cf.* Ps. 29:9; Jer. 49:10. [149] Hos. 2:5; Jer. 51:34.

[150] *Cf.* Isa. 57:5, from חמם = "inflame themselves." Here possibly from נחם = "console themselves."

[151] "Of noble descent;" *cf.* Tosefta Sheḳalim, II, 16.

[152] "Delicate, daintily bred" (מענגה, Jer. 6:2; ענגה, Deut. 28:56); *cf.* Giṭṭin, 56*a*, the story of Martha, daughter of Boetus.

[153] *Cf.* Lev. 13:45; Ezek. 24:17, 22; Mic. 3:7, prescribed for the mourner and for the leper. The reason for this custom in the case of the mourner has been variously explained by critics. The view of the older critics (Kamphausen, Hitzig, and Smend), that this was to serve as a symbol to the mourner that he was not to speak, although somewhat supported by rabbinic tradition, is rightly criticised by Frey (*Altisraelitische Totentrauer* [Jurjev, 1898], pp. 10-12). His criticism may further be corroborated by the fact that in Lev. 13:45 the leper is commanded to cover his lips and to *cry out:* "Unclean! Unclean!" The explanation offered by Frey, however, is rather unsatisfactory, nor does Schwally (*Leben nach*

dem Tode [Giessen, 1892], p. 16) offer a satisfactory explanation of this custom. More convincing is the suggestion of Toy (*Polychrome Bible*, Ezek. 24:17, note), that, in mourning, one is to reverse his habit of life. The beard was regarded as an ornament, hence it must be covered during the period of mourning. The difficulty only is that שפם does not mean the beard; at most it can have reference to the mustache.

According to rabbinic law, neither the mourner nor the leper was permitted to accost friends with the usual greeting. While in the case of the leper the law was derived from the expression עטה על שפם, in the case of the mourner the law was based on another expression (האנק דם, Ezek. 24:17). They also identified the covering of the head with the covering of the lips, thus making it obligatory upon the mourner and the leper to cover the head up to the lip, "like the covering of the Ishmaelites" (כעטיפת ישמעאלים; Mo'ed Kaṭan, 15*a*; *cf.* Jastrow, *Dictionary*, *s. v.* עטיפת).

154 See n. 142. This would point to the view that the covering of the lips was regarded as a symbol of silence. *Cf.*, however, Brown's edition of Gesenius, *Heb. Dictionary*, *s. v.* דמם, II, where the word is also given the meaning of "wailing" (Ass. *damamu*), especially in Isa. 23:2; *cf.* Delitzsch, *Prolegomena*, p. 64, n. 2.

155 *Cf.* Dan. 10:21; see n. 139. 156 *Cf.* Isa. 3:12; 9:15. 157 *Cf.* Jer. 4:22. 158 *Cf.* Isa. 3:4.

159 "By halters, muzzled;" *cf.* Ps. 32:9; Ḥulin, 89*a* (based on Job 26:7); Targum to Isa. 32:4.

160 *Cf.* Zech. 1:14; 8:2; Joel 2:18; Ezek. 39:25.

161 From זרה (= "scatter," Ezek. 5:10, 12).

162 "Carried away as by a flood;" *cf.* Ps. 90:5; 77:18. 163 *Cf.* Deut. 29:28.

164 *Cf.* Jer. 2:22. This is rather an unusual meaning given to the word כתם. In rabbinic literature it is used as a technical term, referring to a dark-red stain on a woman's clothes or body, as an indication of uncleanliness (Niddah, 4*b*, 5*a*; *cf.* Syr. ܟܬܡܐ = "stain"). In the Bible it means "gold" (Prov. 25:12; Job 28:19; Cant. 5:11; Lam. 14:1). In later Hebrew it means "a stain," from which the idea of "sin" or a "stain on the soul" was taken (*cf.* Isa. 1:18; Midrash Tehillim to Ps. 16:1; Halevi, *Poems*, Vol. II, p. 32). Here the meaning probably is "they multiplied sins," a play on שנה and שנן.

165 *Cf.* Hos. 4:2; Alcharizi, *Tachkemoni* (ed. Kaminka), p. 81. 166 *Cf.* Deut. 25:19.

167 Arab. رَتَم, Aram. רתמא = a kind of brown plant (Ps. 120:4; Job 30:4). It is supposed to produce great heat and retain the heat for a long time (see Löw, *Aramäische Pflanzennamen*, p. 366; *cf.* Cheyne, to Ps. 120:4). The embers of this plant are taken as a symbol for various things (*cf.* Midrash Tehillim, *ad loc.*), but especially for the fire of Gehenna ('Arakin, 15*b*); *cf.* services for the Eve of Atonement, *s. v.* כחותם).

168 *Cf.* Jer. 3:3. 169 *Cf.* Ps. 65:11. 170 *Cf.* Isa. 1:9. 171 *Cf.* Mal. 3:24.

172 *Cf.* Jer. 2:20. "Assyrians and Northerners" here seem to refer to no particular nation, but used as a general appellation for the enemy.

173 A strange expression; *cf.* Prov. 23:25; Ps. 74:6; Halevi, *Poems*, Vol. I, p. 63.

174 For the derivation of the word فُسْطَاط see Butler, *Arabic Conquest of Egypt* (Oxford, 1902), p. 340 and note; *cf.* Bacher, *Jewish Quarterly Review*, Vol. XV, p. 87, n. 1; see n. 105.

175 *Cf.* Numb. 24:3, 15; Gen. 19:11.

176 *Cf.* Ps. 22:22; Deut. 33:17; Shabbath, 107*b*; 'Abodah Zarah, 3*b*; Zebaḥim, 113*b*; *cf.* Cant. 6:4, 10; see Delitzsch, *Prolegomena*, pp. 58 *sqq.*, a disquisition on the word דגל and its usage in Assyrian. For ראם *cf. ibid.*, pp. 15 *sqq.*, 23; Lewysohn, *Zoologie des Talmuds*, § 174.

177 See "Historical Sketch," p. 9.

178 "Good star, or luck," the regular greeting among Jews on joyous occasions. מזל meaning "luck" is frequently used in rabbinic literature (Ta'anith, 29*b*; Shabbath, 53*b*; *et al.*). Our author is especially fond of this expression; see ll. 119, 130.

179 The plural of רנה or רננה (Job 3:7) is found once as רננות (Ps. 63:6). The plural רננים is found in Job 39:13, meaning "singing birds."

180 "Like as," "about" (Kethuboth, 17*a*; Shabbath, 51*a*; Mishnah Berakoth, V, 5).

181 The number 200 days is probably very nearly correct. Damascus was taken by Atsiz in Du-l 'Ḥijja of 468, and the siege of Cairo took place in 469 (Jumada II, 24), which would make the intervening period about six months.

182 Probably a reminiscence of the Israelitish camp in the wilderness that was protected by a column of cloud by day and by a column of light by night (Exod. 13:21, 22; Deut. 1:33; *cf.* Ps. 18:12; Job 36:39; Lam. 3:43).

183 Probably shortened from ויצא; *cf.* Zunz, *Synagogale Poesie*, p. 121.

184 Analogy of ע"ו verbs.

185 אימים added for the rhyme; *cf. Tachkemoni* (ed. Kaminka), p. 81, where אימים is used as plural of אימה; otherwise the plural is אימות (Ps. 55:5).

186 An Aramean or Arabic tribe against whom the Reubenites waged war during the reign of Saul (1 Chron. 5:10, 19). In the last-quoted verse it is mentioned in connection with יטור and נפיש (*cf.* Gen. 25:15; 1 Chron. 1:31), thus indicating the descent from Ishmael (*cf.* Ps. 83:7). In rabbinical times and in mediæval Jewish literature Hagri was identified with Arabia, and later generally with the Mohammedan world (Numb. Rabba, XIII, 3; Halevi, *Poems*, Vol. II, p. 20; *Tachkemoni*, ed. Kaminka, p. 10; *cf.* Kaempf, *Die erste Makamen aus dem Tachkemoni oder Divan des Charizi* [Berlin, 1845], p. 72, n. 11). It is also identified with Hungary, especially by modern Jewish writers; see *Jewish Encyclopedia*, *s. v.* "Hagar," "Hagrim."

187 *Cf.* Judg. 5:14; Neh. 9:22, 24.

188 *Cf.* Ps. 33:10; צור perhaps a reminiscence of the caliph's name.

189 *Cf.* Isa. 2:9, 11, 17.

190 Favorite expression with mediæval Jewish poets, especially with Halevi; see his *Poems*, ed Harkavy, Vol. I, pp. 48, 50, 97, 123, 128, 144; Vol. II, pp. 48, 49, 51, 52; *et al.* The expression בנות עיש is not found in the Bible; *cf.* Job 38:22, עיש על בניה.

191 Arabic influence الله الرحمان الرحيم. In Hebrew liturgic literature the usual expression is אל הרחמים.

192 Deut. 2:20; name given by the Amonites to the Rephaim who once inhabited their land, but had afterward been expelled by them, a people "great and many and tall like the Anakim;" *cf.* Driver, *ad loc.*; Hastings, *Dictionary of the Bible*, *s. v.* Here used figuratively for a strong people.

193 *Cf.* Ps. 136:17, 18; 135:10.

194 *Cf.* Ps. 38:14.

195 שעה with ב means "to delight in" (Ps. 119:117); here, however, "to listen to prayer;" *cf.* Gen. 4:4, 5; see Delitzsch, *Prolegomena*, p. 39. פגע, meaning "to pray," is found in the Bible (Isa. 53:12; Jer. 36:25), and also in rabbinic literature. (Ḥulin, 91*b*; Gen. Rabba, LXVIII, 11, referring to Gen. 28:11; *cf.* Rashi, *ad loc.*).

196 Perhaps רדומים "benumbed, dead;" *cf.* Esther Rabba, VII, 18, Yoẓer for Purim *s. v.* בראשה.

197 *Cf.* liturgy for Shabu'oth, *s. v.*, אתר מצוות והקים, where the same form occurs; Berliner, *Synagogale Poesie* (Berlin, 1884), Vol. I, p. 18.

198 *Cf.* hymn in daily liturgy, *s. v.* אדון עולם: והוא היה, והוא הוה והוא יהיה בתפארה.

199 Plural not found. As verb found only in Kal, Jer. 23:31.

200 Quadriliteral from כסם, with the insertion of ר (Ps. 80:14); *cf.* rab. קרסם "cut, prune," (of insects) "bite, nibble" (Peah, II, 7; Shabbath, XII, 2); *cf.* Arab. قَرَضَ = "to cut," and Saadia's commentary to Ps. 80:14, يَقْرِضُهَا.

201 This passage may be taken to refer either to the chiefs of the enemy coming to the king with baskets on their shoulders (as a sign of submission; *cf.* Ps. 81:7, and Delitzsch, *ad loc.*), or to the heads, literally, of the enemy being brought to the king by his own officers in baskets, as a sign of victory (*cf.* 2 Kings 10:17, the heads of the children of Ahab brought to Jehu). The first rendering is adopted in the translation, although the second is also possible.

202 *Cf.* Esther 8:5 with לפני; passive participle not found in the Bible; in rabbinic literature usually spelled without א and has the meaning of "accessible, frequent" ('Arakin, 30*b*; Sanhedrin, 86*a*). The meaning here is obscure. They came (to meet) the king who is *given* to grace, magnanimity (?). Emendation of מצאר would not be borne out by the context.

203 Obscure. "Presents, gifts" (?); *cf.* Pesaḥim, 21*b*, but there נתינה. Perhaps "the star was powerful in their being *delivered*."

[204] *Cf.* Judg. 19:29, 30, the incident at Gibea, when the man cut his Pilegesh into twelve pieces, which he sent to the twelve tribes of Israel in order to incite them to war against the inhabitants of Gibea.

[205] *Cf.* Gen. 41:8; Dan. 2:1.

[206] From כון or כנן "to establish, arrange;" תֹּכֶן means "appointed measure or number" (Exod. 5:18; Ezek. 45:11); here, probably, "fixity, immovableness, soundness."

[207] Connected with פצע (Exod. 21:25) "wound;" lit. "split open" (comp. Arab. فَصَمَ = "crack"); *cf.* Ps. 60:4.

[208] Appellation given to Ishmael (Mohammedan world generally); *cf.* Halevi, *Poems* ed. Harkavy, Vol. II, pp. 61, 151.

[209] *Cf.* Sanhedrin, 91*a*; see n. 142.

[210] *Cf.* 1 Kings 13:24, 25, 28; Jer. 36:30.

[211] *Cf.* Exod. 8:10.

[212] Hapax., Cant. 2:11.

[213] Form not found; *cf.* Job 37:17 (חַמִּים); see Jer. 36:30 for the idea.

[214] *Cf.* Ps. 118:22.

[215] *Cf.* Ps. 126; אלמים found only once (Gen. 37:7), usually אלמות (Gen. 37:7; Ps. 126:6); reminiscences of Joseph's dream.

[216] Monday, Shebat 26, 4837 A. M.; January 23, 1077; Jumada II, 24, 469. ארבע נשארו Arabic influence. מְשְׂטְימִים = 1009, if we consider the final ם as 600; *cf.* König, *Lehrgebäude der hebräischen Sprache*, Vol. II, Div. 1, p. 231.

[217] See "The Author," p. 14.

[218] *Cf.* Ps. 33:4.

[219] The numerical value of קֹטֶם = 149. קטם = "cutting off, lopping, chopping off (Arab. قَطَمَ = فَطَعَ); *cf.* Shebi'ith, II, 4; Sukkah, III, 4; *et al.*; refers to the destruction of the enemy.

[220] *Cf.* Prov. 3:15.

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